Volume LXXXIX No. 22 March 7, 1969 35 cents

commonweal

St. Charles Seminary
Carthagena
Celina, Ohio

MAR 7 1969

THE CHURCH IN CUBA
ANNE POWER

BACKGROUND ON BERLIN
CZARINA WILPERT

ACCORDING TO PASOLINI
LEONARD J. BERRY

'TRAGEDY AND PHILOSOPHY'
KENNETH REXROTH

GARRISON, WEAPONS & BALTHAZAR B
SYLVIA MEAGHER JEREMY J. STONE JOHN DEEDY

GUARANTEED WAGES
A MODEST PROPOSAL
JONATHAN KESSELMAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS AND VIEWS

The president of Union Oil Company has made the *New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal* eat humble pie for taking liberties with his remarks on the loss of birds during the oil bath visited by his company on the California shore.

But Fred L. Hartley still smells badly of sludge and rhetoric. And he's still hung with the gloat that the oil disaster claimed no human lives—which, he reminded the Senate Subcommittee on Air and Water Pollution, is more than can be said for life "in this fair city [Washington] due to crime."

Hartley is now busy repairing the image among the people who really matter—Union Oil stockholders. A letter to stockholders repeats his subcommittee narrative about plastic booms, vacuum trucks, bales of straw, bird care centers and other data of the clean-up operation.

"Contrary to what has been reported in the media, we are not taking this matter lightly or callously," he writes.

Hartley then gets to the essential: "The company has, we believe, more than adequate insurance to cover its one-quarter share of legal liabilities which may arise."

He'd better be right, for $560,006,000 of the $1.06 billion suit drawn up by the State of California is against Union Oil and three other exploiters of the liquid gold off Santa Barbara. Private property owner suits can also be expected.

The irony of it all, as *Newsweek* periscoped a few weeks ago, is that the Santa Barbara oil deposits were a disappointment. *Newsweek* speculated that no new leases would be applied for, and added that few expected the companies already there to remain.

•

The Arms Control and Disarmament Agency's annual survey of military expenditures is out, and once again the figures indict the world for its values and priorities.

Global expenditures for arms have climbed to $182 billion, 7 percent of the world's gross product. The sum is the equivalent of the total annual income of Latin America, South America and the Near East. It exceeds by 40 percent worldwide expenditures on education by all levels of government, and is more than three times the investment in public health.

The ACDA provides a translation: the average public investment worldwide for the education of children, ages 5 to 19, is $100 a year; public outlays for health care average $50 per person in developed countries, $2 per person in less developed countries. The expenditure per soldier, per year, worldwide: $7,800.

The ACDC draws no explicit conclusions from its survey, except to remark, almost off-handedly, that a significant share of the increment in real product does not contribute to the improvement of living standards.

It needn't say more. The figures speak for themselves, and they speak strongest against the U.S., the most profligate of military spenders. According to the survey (which digests data through 1967), 8.5 percent ($63,283,000,000) of the American GNP has gone for military expenditures—an amount which exceeds the *entire* GNP of Canada, of Italy and the estimated GNP, even, of mainland China.

•

The London *Sunday Times'* Henry Brandon cites the conviction and courage of one man, and one man only, in persuading Lyndon Johnson to offer negotiations instead of escalation to North Vietnam last spring.

The man: Defense Secretary Clark Clifford.

The *Sunday Times* credits Clifford with the idea for the partial bombing halt; with the extention of the partial halt into a full halt; and with prodding Saigon to the conference table (by talking to Saigon "over the heads of the U.S. government" through speeches, press conferences and TV interviews).

Brandon writes that Clifford's counsel, though heeded by LBJ, was received with great doubts and misgivings, and somewhat less than gracefully. An estrangement grew between Clifford and Johnson, and in the end Johnson was giving Clifford the silent treatment. Brandon is at a loss to explain these phenomena, except to suggest that perhaps they "were only signs of embarrassment of a very proud man who resents conceding and who does not know how to say 'thank you.' "

•

The Denver *Register*, usually a faithful reflection of officialdom's mood, professed puzzlement over Bishop James Shannon's acceptance of a visiting lectureship at St. John's College, Santa Fe.

"It's all sort of a cloak and dagger—or is it cloak and crozier—mystery," the *Register* reported on page one. "Even though the college is quite sure of the bishop's presence on its campus, St. Paul-Minneapolis isn't."

The *Register* story exercised Bishop Shannon (particularly the phrase, "he is, or was, pastor" of St. Helena's), and, says Shannon, for the first time in his life he wrote a complaining letter to an editor.

For an accurate description of his status, Shannon is now referring people to the story in the *National Catholic Reporter*.

Shannon stressed that he is on legitimate canonical leave, and that he will be commuting two days a month to Minnesota to keep civic and episcopal commitments, including confirmation at St. Helena's.

•

"Candy" was confiscated and the owner of the theater showing the film in Mitchell, South Dakota, was arrested recently on the complaint of an official of Dakota Wesleyan University. "Every time I turned around someone was having intercourse," said Joseph LoPour, who knows a dirty hold when he sees one; he's the wrestling coach at DWU.

JOHN DEEDY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

Fear Mongering

New York

To the Editors: Mr. Leo's overlooking of the cynical machiavellianism of the Jewish political forces ["Black Anti-Semitism," Feb. 14] in their promotion of calculated paranoid, or fear-mongering politics is as careless as his free-wheeling adoption of argotic hatemongering epithet used by the Jewish political forces to accomplish terrorist politics. The term "anti-Semitism" is, of course, not any valid, logical declaratory term. Its syllabular components are what symbolic logic describes as "bound (or closed) variables" of special, manipulable meaning to its artifacters. It is but an ideological argotic hate epithet, similar in class nature to the term "un-American," as employed by right-wing chauvinists, or the terms "heretic," "infidel" or "pagan," as used by religious chauvinists. It is a "witch-hunting" canard. As the peddlers of the "un-Americanism" smear seek by the argot to brand their political opponents with the capital crime of Treason, and religious fanatics used their slogans to justify stake burnings, the Jewish chauvinists use their vague, indefinite, manipulable hate slogan of "anti-Semite" to smear their political antagonists with the capital crime of Hitlerian mass-murder of Jewish people.

As the Dies and McCarthys for awhile had us foolishly playing the game of "who's un-American," the Jewish politicians now have us equally absurdly playing the game of "who's an anti-Semite." If you ask the right question you get the right answer. But when you ask a question upon a basis incapable of evoking any logical, rational answer, you can only get emotionality. As long as the *Commonweal* continues to condone the irrational, fear-mongering and hatemongering game of Jewish "anti-anti-Semitism," it will fuel the same kinds of campaigns it otherwise finds suspect.

We have, in these past twenty years,

(Continued on page 715)

NEWS & VIEWS: 694 **CORRESPONDENCE: 695**
EDITORIALS: 695
DIVORCE IN THE CHURCH: *Henry ten Kortenaar* **696**
BACKGROUND ON BERLIN: *Czarina Wilpert* **698**
GUARANTEEING WAGES: A MODEST PROPOSAL: *Jonathan Kesselman* **700**
THE CHURCH IN CUBA: *Anne Power* **704**
ACCORDING TO PASOLINI: *Leonard J. Berry* **706**
VERSE: *E. Rubinstein* **703**
THE SCREEN: *Philip T. Hartung* **707**
BOOKS: **708**

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor*
JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor*
PHILIP NOBILE: *Assistant Editor*
ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
MICHAEL NOVAK: *Associate Editor (At Large)* **WILFRID SHEED:** *Books*
GERALD WEALES: *Drama* **PHILIP T. HARTUNG:** *Movies* **JOHN FANDEL:** *Poetry*
ROBERT BARRAT: *Paris* **GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN:** *Rome* **J. M. CAMERON:** *Great Britain*

EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher*
JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.
Second-class postage paid in Philadelphia, Pa. Printed in the USA and published weekly, except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and July-September, by Commonweal Publishing Co, 232 Madison Ave, New York, NY 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. Copyright © 1969 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.
US and Canada, $10 a year. Foreign $12. Single copies 35¢.

HUNGER, U.S.A.

Republican or Democrat, conservative or liberal, most Americans would agree that no citizen of this richest country in the world, and especially no child, should go hungry day-in and day-out. The problem is that it is hard for most Americans to understand the reality of deep-down, grinding poverty, precisely because most of us do not experience it. Squeezed for ready cash occasionally? Surely. Feeling the pinch of rising college costs, perhaps? Yes, indeed. But bone-weakening, soul-destroying starvation, no. And for that reason most Americans pay little attention to reports of chronic hunger in the U.S. as bad as in some parts of Central America. People simply do not take seriously testimony such as that of anthropologist Margaret Mead, who told Congress last December that almost ten million Americans were getting inadequate nourishment and that many were "on the verge of starvation."

The children of the desperately poor in America do not die fast, as in Biafra; instead they suffer from constant malnutrition, worms, rickets, and even kwashiorkor, a disease of extreme protein deficiency previously thought to exist only in the poorest of the underdeveloped countries. Who are these children? They are the kin of migrant workers, of Negroes, of Mexican-Americans, of sharecroppers, of seasonal and underemployed workers of all sorts, black and white. Not enough is known about them, and what is now needed is a full-scale study of the dimensions of the problem of chronic hunger, matched by a systematic effort to get at causes and possible cures. This is the obvious step, but this is exactly what some of the overlords of the Senate fought hard to prevent. Senator George S. McGovern, chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Nutrition and Human Needs, asked for $250,000 to finance just such a broad investigation, the money to be spent for necessary travel to poverty areas, legislative hearings and the like. When

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his not excessive request got to the powerful Rules Committee, however, it was slashed by 40 percent—an action, ironically enough, which cut the hunger funds by almost exactly the amount of the pay raise Congress recently voted itself, as Senator McGovern pointed out, and an action taken the very week half-a-dozen Congressmen left to study hunger in Biafra. Subsequent efforts to restore the needed funds eventually succeeded. But why did the Rules Committee make its drastic cut in the first place? The answer is simple, and perhaps was best expressed in the attitude of states' righter Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, who dismissed the hunger inquiry as "a Democratic plot to get the Negro vote."

The plain fact is that a small but determined group of political leaders, most of them from the South, want to kill all publicity about the living standards of the poor in their fiefdoms; they want no pictures of listless American children with hunger-swollen bellies to rouse the taxpayer into action. These men must not be allowed to have their way, and one step in thwarting them would be to transfer the food-for-the-poor program entirely out of the Dept. of Agriculture to the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, where Southern dominance of appropriations is not so total as in all matters agricultural. This is a move recommended by former Secretary Wilbur J. Cohen, who testified that food stamps and other programs do not now reach fourteen million out of the nation's estimated twenty-two million poor.

The restoration of funds to Senator McGovern's committee is a good sign. Another is the action recently taken by Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Robert H. Finch. Acting directly on President Nixon's orders, Mr. Finch moved to quicken federal action against hunger, directing his department to expand and speed up all governmental action, and announcing at the same time that he would urge immediate joint action against hunger when he met with the Governors at their national conference later in the month. These moves in themselves constitute a heartening beginning, and we hope other and even more significant steps will follow. Senator Strom Thurmond to the contrary, we believe that when the facts of hunger in the U.S. have their full impact on the American people, they will not tolerate further attempts at suppression or at playing politics with hunger's victims.

ULTIMATUM

Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam has written President Nixon that the honeymoon is over, and that his return from Europe will end the moratorium on criticism and contention over national purpose. Precisely what this means, Clergy and Laymen Concerned does not spell out, for reason that it does not know. The peace movement is in shambles, and it will not be a simple matter to reorganize the energies that were blunted by the bombing halt, then siphoned off by campus ferment and issues like the ABM and the nonproliferation treaty.

It is not to deny the importance of those issues to state that Vietnam must remain a primary crisis for the collective conscience. To allow that urgency to be dulled by delusions about the Paris talks and by new priorities is a blind playing-into-the-hands of militarists and governmental bureaucrats—like Treasury Secretary David Kennedy—who resignedly figure the war to continue at present levels for the next 22 months.

The Kennedy presumption, attributed to administration calculations, quickens fears that the Nixon administration, by its non-decisions with respect to Vietnam, is only continuing the policies of Lyndon Johnson. Those policies are no more tolerable today than they were when LBJ was being toppled. They must be resisted.

Of course the possibility exists that Nixon the pragmatist may trigger dramatic peace developments during his visit to Paris. But don't count on it. The greater likelihood is that the peace movement is again going to have to take its demands to the streets. It should make ready.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

Divorce in the Church Through Italian Eyes

Rome

There is great jumpiness here over the increasing Catholic propensity to probe traditional theological and pastoral presumptions with regard to the indissolubility of marriage. The introduction of divorce into Italian civil law has been hotly debated for the last few years, and one of the prime arguments against such a law is precisely the constant teaching of the Church on the absolute indissolubility of marriage. Any discussion on the point within the Church is seen as a weakening of the traditional position.

Nevertheless, the discussion is a live one. It was broached at the pastoral council in Holland, to the anguish of Rome. And now there is circulating Jesuit Father Petrus Huizing's report in *Concilium* of the Canon Law Society of America's symposium on "The Bond of Marriage," held at Notre Dame in October, 1967. Huizing itemizes symposium conclusions: ". . . existential indissolubility is of paramount importance and cannot be replaced by a juridical concept of indissolubility; social facts and influences require a new reflection on the Church's teaching about indissolubility—here Scripture does not provide an adequate argument for the current interpretation of this teaching, nor do the Fathers, the tradition and the pronouncements of the magisterium; the content of the sacramental character of marriage and its connection with indissolubility is not clear; the pres-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ent Canon Law concerning marriage and particularly indissolubility is not logical and coherent enough to help us."

To these symposium conclusions Huizing adds remarks of his own "that the simple undergoing of the baptismal rite, the outward canonically valid marriage, and the fact of physical consummation, guarantee by no means that . . . evangelical indissolubility between the partners exists in fact, and that they are therefore irrevocably bound to it." "Therefore," Huizing concludes, "the canonical grounds for nullity, . . . namely the 'deficient consent' in its various forms, must be investigated in depth."

This article was violently attacked in *Osservatore Romano* by Msgr. Fagiolo, of the Rota. Huizing's ideas, Fagiolo declared, were in plain contrast with the constant teaching of the Catholic Church, which had always maintained the indissolubility of an ecclesiastically valid marriage. Huizing replied (in a letter published in *Osservatore Romano*) that the article in *Concilium* was a "report" on an American symposium; but he added that he maintained his personal position. *Osservatore* hastily concluded the debate, saying in a note to Huizing's letter that it was now satisfied the Dutch professor "did not propose any facts or reasons occurring after a regularly contracted marriage as valid reasons for dissolving the marriage bond."

Msgr. Fagiolo's legalistic reaction to the more existential approach adopted by Huizing and the American canon lawyers faithfully reflects the attitude of the Italian episcopate and the state of affairs in Italy. Some time ago the Italian press got passionately interested in the case of a 14-year-old girl's marrying a 24-year-old soccer star she had known for two months. Her parents opposed the wedding, but gave in when the soccer player threatened to take their daughter to South America. The Church found nothing to object to, and the wedding took place in the parish church of Ovada, filled with the bride's classmates and with photographers. No publicity is given, however, to innumerable cases of even younger girls (whose grooms do not happen to be soccer players or pop-singers, or similar celebrities), who get married with Church dispensation and for whom, not unfrequently, the local bishop even supplies the consent which has been refused by the parents.

In all such cases Church authorities seem to be anxious only to regularize or to prevent an "illegal situation," or even to endorse absurd social codes of "honor," still prevalent in many parts of Italy, according to which, for example, even a kidnapped girl is considered "dishonored" and unfit for marriage for the rest of her life, unless she marries her abductor. Juridical correctness prevails in these cases over the personal aspect; the question is obviously considered irrelevant whether the persons involved are, not legally, but existentially, capable of giving the full Christian consent which alone induces the "evangelical indissolubility" Father Huizing speaks about in his article.

These may seem extreme cases (though they are far from rare), but they show the flaws of the system: the wedding partners may be considered children in every other respect (they may not vote; they are protected by the law on child-labor; they are not allowed to see certain movies, etc.), but at the marriage altar they are considered capable of taking full responsibility for a decision which binds them for life. If such a marriage, after some months or years, breaks down, they may find other partners to whom they may be faithful for 30, 40 years, and by whom they may have children. However, both for the Church and for the state the first brief episode represents the one sacramental and valid marriage, while the second union is nothing but a concubinage.

It may be objected that this situation exists in the whole Church and will not be remedied until such ideas as proposed by the symposium find expression in canon law. This is undoubtedly true, but there are some significant differences between Italy and other countries. In the first place, social pressure (in the form of codes of honor or otherwise) in favor of marriage—any marriage, however inconsiderate—is perhaps stronger than elsewhere. Secondly, in Italy there is no civil remedy, whether the marriage is ecclesiastical or civil. The only remedy recognized by the law is annulment by the Church, obviously obtainable only for those who are religiously married—and for very few of them, at that. Consequently, there is an enormous and ever growing number of legal and *de facto* separations and irregular unions.

The Church has so far succeeded in blocking any attempt to introduce divorce into Italian law. Catholic authors seem to be immoderately proud of this, but their loud hosannas to the Christian civilization of Italy tend to hide some uncomfortable facts, such as the mounting number of broken homes and the multiplication of irregular unions. One is inclined to ask: why, if the Church is so strongly opposed to an "opening to the left" (in the form of some possibility of divorce), does it tolerate so many abuses "on the right"? The social rule regarding the "honor" of the kidnapped girl is not just a picturesque vestige of the past, but in many areas still very much alive. When Franca Viola, a young girl in Sicily, refused some time ago to marry a young man who had abducted her against her will, and lodged a charge against him instead, she became a national heroine for her "unprecedented courage" (since then she has been under police protection); when recently she married someone else, she received presents from the government and from the President. But at the time of her refusal, there was nobody (not her parents; not even her pastor or her confessor) who dared tell her she was right.

Also, the "crime of honor" has a neat niche in Italian criminal law, not just as an extenuating circumstance, but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as a category for which punishment is ridiculously low. The man who kills his adulterous wife in cold blood ("Divorce Italian style"!) may get a couple of years in prison, and will come back as an honorable and honored citizen. Against such laws there is no protest on record from the Church; such customs are part of the same Christian civilization which has so constantly abhorred divorce.

However, times are changing in Italy, and during the past years there has been mounting pressure in favor of some form of civil divorce. Parliament will soon have to decide on a bill presented by Loris Fortuna (of the Socialist Party, one of the partners in the present center-left government), which would allow divorce in a few clearly defined cases. Signor Fortuna's bill is not the first one in the history of Italian parliament, but it is the first one to be discussed since the war; other bills had been kept out of parliamentary debate by the governing Christian Democrat Party. This time, however, the Christian Democrats had to accept discussion of the divorce bill as the price for socialist participation in the government. The bill is practically certain to pass, for, though the Christian Democrats will vote against it, their governmental partners, the Socialists and the Republicans, will vote in favor, along with the majority of the opposition, the Communists and the Liberals.

When Prime Minister Mariano Rumor announced parliamentary discussion of the divorce bill, he significantly linked it with another bill, on popular referendum, which, though foreseen by the constitution of 1947, has not yet been regularized by law. Presumably the government intends to use this form of popular consultation for the first time in the case of the divorce law; the idea has been proposed by Catholic Action. If so, there is the strong possibility that the law will be defeated. But it may be a Pyrrhic victory for the Church. Fortuna predicts a renewal of the division between Guelphs and Ghibellines.

In any case, even more than party politics (had the Catholic population followed the directions given by the bishops, the Christian Democrat Party would be the only one in parliament, while in reality it has never had much more than one third of the popular vote), a predominantly moral issue is bound to show the inconsistency of the myth of Italy as a "Catholic nation." No doubt this will be sad. But it will be a salutary discovery for the Italian Church, which since the Council has platonically preached a dialogue with a "world" somewhere-far-away, but may be forced to face the world in its own neighbors and within its own walls. HENRY ten KORTENAAR

(Henry ten Kortenaar is a free-lance journalist living in Rome.)

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

BEHIND THE VISIT

BACKGROUND ON BERLIN

Berlin

The selection of Berlin as site for the election of a new German President, East German reprisals, Nixon's visit and the promised student violence have all combined to raise new questions about the city which was once the center of East-West conflict. The fact is that "Showcase" Berlin, with its exemplary postwar European modernism, can no longer camouflage with architectural facades its basic struggle to exist. The 1967 recession hit Berlin harder than Western Germany: capital investments were down 25 percent from the previous year; the number of the working force was reduced by 25,000; for the first time emigration was heavier than immigration.

1967 was also the year that inner Berlin political tensions burst. The student Benno Ohnesorg was killed by the fatal bullet of a plainclothesman during the anti-Shah demonstrations. Student action criticizing police and civil authorities spurred similar protest throughout the *Bundesrepublik* and led to the retreat of Burgermeister Albertz's government. A second peak was reached in 1968 with the attempt on the life of the socialist student leader Rudi Dutschke. This event triggered the violent Easter demonstrations and counter-demonstrations which initially focused on the publishing house of Axel Springer whose widely read boulevard press and numerous slicks were accused of cold war politics and a student hate campaign. In June pressure came from the outside. The East Berlin government of Walter Ulbricht clamped down visa regulations on the land and water routes to West Berlin, adding another weight to the city's ties with the Federal Republic; economic sanctions were also visited on all travel, public and private, coming or going to West Berlin, airplanes excepted.

There are those who fear that West Berlin will be a victim of "rapprochement." Under four power status it continues to live for a faraway dream of a German peace treaty and German reunification. Until then the city can never be an integral part of the Federal Republic to which it now claims allegiance. Berlin is recognized as a *Bundesland* (federal state) in the Bonn constitution, and yet Berlin citizens have their own passports. Forty-two percent of the city budget stems from the Federal Republic, but the ultimate authority lies with the allied command. The prospects for the realization of Berlin's dream are dim and more people in Berlin and West Germany are beginning to realize it. As long as Bonn sought improved

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relations with eastern European nations Berlin as a part of the Federal Republic would have to be played down. For better relations with their socialist neighbors Bonn not only has to disregard the Hallstein Doctrine which claims the Federal Republic as representative for all Germans, but also what is referred to here as the Berlin clause which insists on the inclusion of West Berlin in all West German international treaties and agreements. This clause has impaired the renewal of the culture and trade agreements with the Soviet Union and causes difficulties for other European nations.

Soviet policy has been to warn against any presence of the Federal Republic in Berlin, from President Lubke's ritualist visits to his Berlin office, parliamentary commission meetings of the Bundestag, even to trade fairs, exhibits, and athletic competitions entitled "West German." In the same breath the U.S.S.R. claims the right to condemn West Berlin meetings of "revanchist" organizations; thus, the National Democratic Party ban for Berlin, and the intolerance toward refugee groups meeting in the city.

Berlin's senate can not overlook its financial dependence (8 million marks a day) on the Federal Republic, and, even worse, they are evidently caught up in their own euphemistic imagery about the city. The latest city-sponsored campaign to tempt visitors is the sunny face of a quick stepping long-legged young girl full paged in West German magazines and newspapers. Here the hope must be cradled that if this ad does not change the facts—21 percent of the population in Berlin is over 65, almost twice as many as that same age group in the *Bundesrepublik*— it will at least change the image. In the past year the Berlin government distributed at least four million want ads in leaflets and newspapers in West Germany. Yet, when the potential young applicant gets to the city he won't even be able to put his child into kindergarten: in Berlin there is only room for one out of every ten children.

Berlin's radical left, the APO (Opposition Outside Parliament), considers its primary mission the revelation of the dishonesty of the established system wherever and however it appears. For the most part, young intellectuals, professionals and students are dramatically trying to drive home the reality of Berlin's dilemma to its citizens. They claim that the present delusive policy can only lead to the city's eventual suicide. Thus, one of their biggest foes is the strong anti-Communist and categorical line of Axel Springer's *Bild* newspaper. The first stage of the APO Berlin policy is to force the admission that West Berlin is not a part of the Federal Republic and that its special status must be recognized and accepted from all sides. They call for radical new relations between East and West to guarantee the normal routes of the city. There is no doubt that the initial criticisms and actions of this group, centered around the Berlin Republican Club, which instigated new thinking about the future of this city, expressing the feelings of much of their generation.

The APO student wing, so far ineffective in communicating with the working class, has presently transferred its action once again to the university, where they have caused some changes in reform plans which have only been theorized for a number of years. The leaders of this German student generation, comparable in office to student body or NSA leaders in the United States, speak to one another as "comrade," and express their goals in terms of seizing the university from the hands of the capitalist and authoritarian machinery and placing it in the service of the oppressed.

Much less radical in its language is the Berlin Citizens' Committee which came into being after the 1968 Easter demonstrations in an attempt to become an arbitrating agency between two extremes. Chosen as the head of this committee was none other than the toppled Berlin Mayor Heinrich Albertz. The Committee never did have the chance to fulfill its self-imposed role; Mayor Schütz agreed to meet with Albertz only this January, nine months and many problems after the committee's founding. Yet, Albertz's *Burgerkomittee* continues to exist, and has in the meantime come to conclusions about Berlin very similar to the APO's.

Shortly after the June 1968 "visa" regulations the Citizens' Committee proposed the recognition of the DDR as a second German state, the recognition of the Oder-Neisse line, and the negation of the validity of the Munich Pact. This was an about face for the former Mayor, who claimed he personally could only come to this conclusion after many years of Berlin political experience and, evidently, the necessary distance from the party power structure. It is too soon to judge all the ramifications of this proposal for Berlin and for Germany, but it appears to be the only new and realistic alternative out of Berlin's *cul de sac*.

Internal and external problems of Berlin are microcosmically exhibited in a passage from the 1968 year-end report on the city's economic situation. Here the projection was made that Berlin's present electric power system will only be sufficient for the next ten to fifteen years, when new sources of energy must be found. West Berlin lacks suitable land to set up a new power plant. The senator responsible for the report suggested a link up with the power system of the German Democratic Republic as a possible solution. Before all discussion was tabled for future consultation an alternative plan was presented by another senator that West Berlin set up its own atomic energy plant. Is it possible that even the allies, not to speak of socialist neighbors, would allow such a plan?

The Free Democratic Party in its 1969 bid for power in next fall's *Bundestag* elections is putting the Berlin question and relations with the DDR into its program. Even those who are fed up with the "Berlin" problem may not be allowed to forget it. CZARINA WILPERT

(Czarina Wilpert reports regularly for Commonweal *from Germany.)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GUARANTEEING WAGES: A MODEST PROPOSAL

Neither subsidized idleness nor borderline poverty

JONATHAN KESSELMAN

Much of the recent clamor for uplifting the poor through guaranteed minimum incomes favors experimentation over pragmatism. Both popular and technical discussion have revolved around plans for income maintenance—the income guarantee and the similar negative income tax—which stress the primacy of income over employment. Any possible improvement in these proposals is usually seen in terms of mere refinement of the administrative set-up or the operating parameters. As a result, far too little attention has been given the emotional and economic interests which are likely to hinder enactment of current guarantee schemes.

Two issues separate income-guarantee proponents with radical views of economic reality from traditional liberal supporters of these schemes. The first stems from differing judgments of the present economic situation and the state of political necessities. The extreme position says that society is producing enough, that technology and the specialists can be counted on for all further increases in productivity, and that the economic problem has become one of equitable distribution rather than of general scarcity. This position places no major urgency on enlarging the national income. It is therefore willing to allow human resources to go untapped.

The more traditional view asserts that many unmet needs—both public and private—exist on a broad scale. It claims that our best hope for actually filling these needs is to keep the total economic pie expanding as rapidly as possible, utilizing all feasible natural and human resources. Only in this way, it is argued, will any significant income redistribution become politically feasible. If the national product is growing rapidly enough, the middle and upper income groups will forego some of the increased income more readily than in the absence of such growth. Liberal supporters of guarantees are consequently more concerned than their radical colleagues about any deterioration of work incentives under a program of income maintenance.

The second disagreement lies in attitudes about the role of the poor in today's economy. The radical position contends that the economy is so highly advanced that it has little room for people with skills of the poor, and that it will increasingly encroach upon the security of middle-class workers. For this reason "full unemployment" has been hailed as a suitable public policy goal. The liberal stance leans more toward "structural unemployment," whose remedy is supposed to be massive, continual retraining of workers in one industry after another as they become revolutionized by advancing technologies. Both views ignore the fact that few of the unemployed are "unemployable" in the sense that they have zero or negative productivity for all types of economic operations. Public controversy has consequently overlooked the possibility of providing income maintenance through the existing market wage system.

A subsidy might be devised to give the unemployed the incentive to work and others the incentive to hire, making them immediately employable. Careful groundwork is needed to arrive at such a scheme. It is imperative first to examine the forces which seem likely to resist public adoption of the guaranteed income. Then microeconomic theory will help to explain the causes of substandard employment and unemployment. The solution which will finally be developed is to concede enough to the existing interests that they will not resist the subsidy

JONATHAN KESSELMAN *is a National Science Foundation Fellow in economics at M.I.T. and a graduate of Oberlin College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arrangement. The workability of the concrete proposal—the guaranteed minimum wage rate—will be compared with the guaranteed income.

Foremost among the existing obstacles to the guaranteed income is the tenacious longevity of the work ethic in our society. A recent Gallup Poll found that the nation opposed a guaranteed $3200 annual income by 58 to 36 percent. Even those with incomes under $3000 just barely favored the proposal, by 48 to 45 percent. Among nonwhites the proposal was strongly favored, by 66 to 30 percent—the combined workings of poverty, non-Calvinist culture, and the present welfare structure. It would appear that a nation so critical of the welfare payments to some able-bodied unemployed is not on the verge of approving a comprehensive income guarantee.

The Employed Poor

As the guaranteed-income idea becomes more widely circulated and understood, its numerical support may rise somewhat. But the strength and fervor of the opposition are still likely to rise in the future—mostly among employers who pay sub-standard wages. These are jobs now excluded from the federal minimum wage law, such as intra-state commerce and manufacturing, some restaurant, hotel, and hospital workers, domestics, custodians, and farm and migrant workers. Extension of minimum wage laws to these industries would carry mixed blessings for the employed poor, as the firms would introduce more labor-saving (labor-killing) machinery or go out of business. When sub-standard wage employers realize the inevitable impact of a guaranteed income—higher wages—their political influence will manifest itself.

The rise in the market wage rate for poor labor would result from a reduced supply of labor under income guarantees. A guaranteed $3200 income is equivalent to a wage of $1.60 per hour *for not working*. The general direction if not the precise degree of the impact on work incentives seems to be clear. Some families would prefer to take the $3200—more than they were ever able to earn while working—and simply settle back into early retirement. Next, let us look at the worker who once labored for $1 an hour, who now has a guaranteed $3200 with a 50 percent offsetting tax on earned income. Before, his choice was between not working, at zero or welfare income, and working for $2000 a year. Now with the guarantee, he may choose between not working for $3200 and working for $4200 total income. The extra value of working over not working has fallen, so the worker would be willing to work only at a higher rate of pay than before the guarantee.

A final major barrier to the adoption of an income guarantee lies in the budgetary dimension, or middle-class stinginess. A guaranteed income would redistribute income from the wealthier to the poorer segments, without producing new goods and services. Moreover, the total amount of real income available to the country would shrink to the extent that lower-class work incentives were impaired by the guarantee. No obvious or tangible economic dividend rebounds to the non-subsidized portions of the economy, so that transfer is pure expense. On top of the public costs of the program would be those borne by the private economy. These are the extra wage labor costs incurred by firms and households employing the poor, due to the wage rises.

Liberals also need be concerned with questions about the inherent desirability of income guarantees as opposed to other means of subsidizing the poor. One critical question is the likely impact of the income guarantee on family cohesion in the black urban ghettos. Would just giving the family the money be sufficient, or does the defense of the father's role require that he be the breadwinner too? The income guarantee is supposed to avoid the stigma which is currently associated with receiving welfare. With the work ethic as strong as it is, though, might a class stigma not emerge under any subsidy scheme which allows an able adult to shirk all work?

Another range of questions deals with the nature of life in the world of the guaranteed income. It must be noted that the poor generally do not fit the image of the self-directed and creative individuals portrayed by the prophets of full employment. Further, a system which encourages people to stay out of work does nothing to help them upgrade their job skills for eventual escape from the impoverished class. Such a system may have the unwittingly cruel effect of suspending many families at just above the official poverty line.

Any sensitive analysis of the reasons for poverty in this country would detail the deficiencies of education, occupational training, job motivation, physical condition, and social breeding that are holding back the poor. Each of these factors affect the worth of the worker to an employer. What the worker can add to the productivity and output of an employer is what he is worth in the labor market, and he will be hired only if his wage is not more than this value. Income maintenance schemes do not attempt to modify any of the basic deficiencies of the poor except the derivative one—lack of income. The external reasons for poverty may be described as sub-standard employment, periodic or seasonal employment, and outright unemployment, including some unemployability. From the standpoint of maintenance, poverty could be eliminated by raising the wages in sub-standard employment and by providing regular jobs at decent wages for the unemployed who can work.

Unemployment can result both from the operation of the total national economy and from the conditions in the market for labor itself. When general business activity is at its present high pitch, with excess demand and rising prices, the causes for the residual unemployment must be sought among the imperfections in the labor market. For present purposes, the micro-economic causes of unem-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ployment may be grouped into five categories. First are the physical and mental handicaps which bar some individuals from performing any work, along with the social burdens like early motherhood which severely limit ability to work. Second is the problem of chronically depressed regional and neighborhood economies which provide only a small amount of sub-standard employment. This is curable through facilitating either the outward mobility of unemployed families or the inward mobility of new enterprise. Third is the restriction on many employers by minimum wage laws and unions making them hire fewer workers than they would like. The value of the unemployed to their firms is less than they would be required to pay if they hired them.

The low prevailing wages available to poor people of low education and job skill leads to the final two causes of unemployment. The bundle of unemployment, welfare, and other public relief is high enough to bid away some individuals from full or even periodic participation in the labor force. The wage rate for working will influence the number in this category, since even the laziest person might be induced to work if the work wage were high enough relative to the "welfare wage." Unemployed persons in this category might be said to be "working at welfare," but it would be unjust to characterize all recipients in this way. Related to this category is an additional group of the unemployed who are deterred from working because *the wage that they could earn seems indecently small to them,* even though they qualify for little if any public relief. Instead of welfare payments, it is the possibility of support through families, friends, and illegal activities which bids them from work.

The earlier review of the resistant social forces and the analysis of unemployment together furnish the qualities which a maintenance program must offer if it is to be accepted by this society and still achieve its objectives. It must support the work ethic by requiring beneficiaries to work if they are able. It must not inflate the wage rate in the market for poor labor. It must add to, rather than detract from, the productivity of the economy. It should offer tangible economic dividends to the middle and upper income groups who will be financing it. Also, it must stimulate relocation and expansion of industry in depressed areas. It should help increase wage flexibility in the labor market, so that institutional barriers to employment of the poor might be overcome. And as its prime goal, it must provide a regular job at a decent social wage for anyone who is willing the work. The guaranteed income schemes, including the negative income tax variant, do not satisfy these requirements.

A reasonably simple arrangement appears capable of meeting all of these conditions with a manageable administrative apparatus. The plan is to establish a subsidy in the form of a wage supplement which would guarantee a minimum wage rate. So that the worker would have an incentive to get the best-paying job in his reach, an offsetting tax of less than 100 percent would be applied against his earned wage rate. For example, let us propose a program with a guaranteed minimum wage of $1 per hour, guaranteed to a person working for the lowest possible wage, zero. Then let an offsetting tax of 50 percent be applied to his earned wage rate. If he earned 80 cents an hour, he would be allowed to keep 40 cents of this on top of his guaranteed $1, for a total wage of $1.40 per hour. Another way to view the same subsidy is to say that the subsidy rate for the worker is 50 percent of the difference between his earned wage rate and $2 per hour. In this instance, the subsidy rate of 60 cents is added to the earned rate of 80 cents, for the same $1.40 total. The subsidy tapers off to zero at an earned wage rate of $2 per hour, about $4000 annually.

Guaranteeing minimum wages to workers can assure employment to anyone who wants to work, as it introduces a new range of wage flexibility into the labor market. So long as any unemployment exists in a locality, the

market wage will be bid down by poor people in their search for the jobs which they must hold to qualify for wage subsidies. When the market wage has fallen somewhat below the potential productivity of the unemployed, enterprising capital is bound to move into such a profitable situation. Even if the market wage for a given kind of labor approached zero, the worker would still obtain at least the guaranteed minimum wage rate. As more firms move into a depressed area, they will bid up the market wage once all of the unemployed labor has been absorbed. Eventually, as the labor becomes more productive, it will justify further market wage rises.

The wage guarantee could be significantly reinforced with a guarantee by the federal government to serve as an "employer of last resort." Though this feature would not have to be nearly as widely invoked as in the absence of the wage guarantee, it would effectively complete the promise of decent employment. A valuable consequence of this feature would be the pressures it exerted on the government to apply the monetary and fiscal policies requisite to the macro-economic conditions for very low unemployment. Failing this course, the government would be obliged to employ directly all of the workers it had allowed to remain unemployed in the private economy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The guaranteed minimum wage may be compared with the existing minimum wage law to expose the latter's divergent approaches to the same welfare problem. The minimum wage law decides upon a minimum wage necessary for decent living, and it decrees that no business shall hire at a wage less than this figure. The *guaranteed* minimum wage makes the same social judgment, but it provides that society as a whole rather than some individual employers and industries shall make up the difference between market and social wage rates. Ideally, if the guaranteed wage were introduced, the minimum wage laws might be revoked simultaneously, but this could prove politically strenuous. A practical compromise might be to freeze the minimum wage laws at their current levels and to redefine the wages to which they applied as the new market wage plus subsidy rate.

Because the total supply of poor workers to the market would increase under a guaranteed wage—the subsidy being conditional upon employment—the market wage rate should fall somewhat. This is the main economic dividend to non-poor society from the scheme. However, some employers may attempt to attract workers at wages lower than the new market rates by offering them special working conditions or fringe benefits. To some extent this may not be a bad development, but it may also represent an abuse of the system in using the wage guarantee to secure workers at sub-sub-standard wages.

A public employment agency would act as a clearing house for job offers to poor workers to avoid this kind of abuse by employers. First, it would verify that the would-be employer was a bona fide employer. Second, using a resumé of the worker's occupational skills and work record, it would act continuously as his agent for job offers from any employer. The worker would be expected normally to accept the highest-paying job that were offered him at any given time. However, he might wish to refuse this offer in preference for a lower-paying job with other advantages, such as being closer to his home or more in line with his job likes. He would be granted his choice, but his subsidy would be calculated on the basis of the best-paying job that had been tendered him. This procedure would similarly apply in determining the subsidy rate for those who preferred to remain self-employed, such as poor families.

Administration of the guaranteed wage would offer several advantages over the guaranteed income. Under the guaranteed income, the poor person would have to file for his subsidy and report his earned income. Given the irregular employment pattern of many of the poor, under-reporting would become rampant with a corresponding rise in the cost of the income guarantee. Under the guaranteed wage, the employer would be charged with responsibility of filing for his workers' wage supplements, and he would pay the total wage directly to them. The guaranteed wage entirely avoids a difficult policy and administrative problem associated with a guaranteed income—the delay between the reporting of earned income and the issuance of subsidy income. No social stigma should arise under the guaranteed wage because the total wage, including supplement, would be paid directly from employer to worker. The work-equals-income nexus would not be violated.

Since the wage guarantee is designed to assist only those who can work, it cannot replace all of the existing programs to help the poor. But it may stimulate needed new arrangements in the welfare system. The severely handicapped, unsupported mothers of the young, and the elderly would not benefit from the guaranteed wage insofar as they were hindered from working. A guaranteed income for these individuals would be perfectly compatible with a guaranteed wage for all others, because these three are categories for whom the work ethic-incentive is neither justified nor relevant. Needless to say, enactment of any or all of these forms of income maintenance would not release the nation from its obligation to help remove the basic causes of poverty—the needs in physical and mental health, education, job-training, housing, and culture. One important option which might be attached to the wage guarantee would induce employers to train and upgrade any guaranteed-wage workers on their payrolls. In short, the pluralistic approach to the alleviation and correction of poverty cannot be abandoned on the strengths of any single program—as some have suggested.

Most intriguing is the notion of radical income-guarantee advocates that the income floor would furnish a sense of security among the poor leading to heightened incentive and creativity. The guaranteed wage does not assume any such monumental breakthrough in the motivations of the poor under income maintenance. But the wage guarantee does recognize that most of the poor are lacking neither in native intelligence nor in the desire for conventional success—and that they long to play a meaningful and profitable role in economic society. Taken as part of the broad program of reconstruction hinted at in the last paragraph, the proposal seeks to instill in the poor justified confidence in their future. In contrast to the guaranteed income, the guaranteed wage makes the hopeful determination that the poor are not useless to society and should not be consigned to lives of subsidized idleness and perpetual border-line poverty.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

E. RUBINSTEIN

I LIVE BY THESE

I live by these conclusive epigrams:
The content meant need not contentment mean.
Who most essays will oft at most an essay
Will. Beware of words, for they be where
You cannot have. A sentence is a verdict.
Measure's a ruler, syntax must be paid!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ten years after the Revolution

THE CHURCH IN CUBA

ANNE POWER

We were visiting old Havana and caught by the splendors of the 250-year-old cathedral we wandered in to inspect the colonial monument as the Cuban Catholics were gathering for the Mass of the Epiphany. The three aisles of the large church were filled mainly with middle-aged women. But there were still a good few men and a fair representation of young people. The traditional ornate gilded altar stood behind a modern "table" facing the people. Two elderly ladies in black were selling booklets at the back. The heads of all the women and little girls were covered with a mantilla or an improvised hanky. A group of about twenty nuns appeared from the back, dressed in unmodified, unmodernized habits.

All this seemed rather incongruous in revolutionary Cuba. But so did the gaudy, Italian-style depiction of the Last Supper hanging in the house of two factory workers who were about to be admitted into the Party members; so too the stylized photo of Maria in her white, ankle-length first Communion dress, rosary and mother-of-pearl prayer book in hand, cross and chain round her neck, framed beside her mother's bed. Maria's mother worked in the cafeteria where we ate and was very much committed to the Revolution, serving in the voluntary defense body as an armed guard. When I asked her if she was a Catholic, she said: "Something always remains. Deep inside . . . I suppose I do believe." There is the typical Spanish response "Si Dios quiere"—if God wills it—to almost any suggestion from family planning to rain in the dry season. And people were constantly swearing—"Ave Maria Purisima" and "Virgen Santisima," without really thinking, yet somehow linking old forms with the present.

In this Communist country, then, where dialectical materialism is the prevailing philosophy we tried to establish what was the position of the church, what the people believed and what were the relations between Church and State.

There were about 800 priests and 300 nuns in pre-revolutionary Cuba. Over half the priests lived in Havana and almost none worked or lived in the rural areas with the peasant poor. The nuns were principally engaged in running expensive private Catholic schools for the rich. And the vast majority of both was foreign-born—Spain the biggest exporter.

According to cliché, Cubans are not supposed to be very religious. If the small number of native vocations to the priesthood can provide any sort of yardstick, perhaps the truism is correct. There was also a strong anti-clerical feeling before the revolution, partly because the Church was a colonialist institution, middle class. Only middle-class people could afford a Catholic education and therefore it was in that segment of the community that the Church flourished (since the school was the main institution of the Church).

One of the first things Castro did was to take over all private education, a move bitterly resisted by the Catholics. Soon after there was a mass exodus of religious, leaving a total of about 200 priests and 200 nuns in the country. Among the refugees from Castro's Cuba the Catholic bourgeoisie loomed large, and so it was a very depleted Church that was left to work out its fate under Communism. No churches were closed by the revolutionary government, and it has constantly taken the line that complete freedom of worship endures; children may receive religious education, both in church and home, but not in school. Castro's regime also claims to be non-dogmatic in its approach to everything, including religion. In practice it is less tolerant than in theory. Catholics cannot become Party members and therefore have no representation in the most powerful body in Cuba. There seems to be an inherent conflict between Marxist materialism and Catholic belief. Since Marxist thought is taught in all advanced institutions of learning, it seems certain that anti-religious philosophy is gaining ground. The private schools were also a great source of income for the Church, which did not own any land or property outside its own institutions. But even without the schools, the Church has continued self-supporting. Its entire income is derived from "donations" for baptisms, weddings, funerals and masses—this situation is some indication of the Church's present status.

There is no propaganda against the Church or against religion, either in the press or on radio or television. There is rather a general neglect. Rarely is any reference made to the Church. At Christmas time, the press was full of people going home for the holiday festivities, but never was any mention made of Christmas, tradition, the story of the Nativity, or the customary turnout for midnight

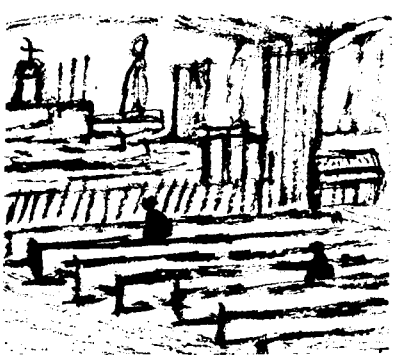
ANNE POWER *is an English journalist who recently visited Cuba, gathering material for a television program and several articles on the Cuban economy.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mass—a practice which is still fairly strong among all classes. The same applied to the Epiphany, January 6th, which in Spain and Latin America, is the day when children receive gifts brought by the Kings from the East. The government distributed toys, ice cream, toffees and other goods to all Cuban children on the 6th, but without any mention of the Kings. They called it the Day of the Children. How far this policy of silence without repression will gradually erode the remaining beliefs of the people remains to be seen.

In their daily lives, priests and nuns are cushioned from the hardships of the Revolution by the government itself. We heard from within the ranks of the clergy that they are handled with kid gloves. In spite of the strict rationing they get more and better quality food than the ordinary people, who often fail to get the full quota of their ration book. Nor do they join the long queues for their goods. Since everything is centrally distributed, the government is able to deliver the goods to the doors of the religious houses. In addition, all religious are exempt from the universal duty of working in the fields. This is called voluntary labor, but is organized in such a way that people are recruited in all centers of work and learning with well applied social and moral pressures—so that in fact virtually everyone gives some free time to this enterprise. No such pressure is applied to the clergy.

The attitude of the priests to the Revolution is, by contrast, harsh, condemning and uncooperative. Very few, if any, support the government and most are waiting for a reverse Bay of Pigs. By and large they do



not even give the government credit for having introduced universal social benefits such as free medicine, and universal free education. The nuns are apparently more open-minded; there are two small groups of sisters running State nurseries for the Government. The bishops, too, are somewhat less negative than their clergy.

There are sixty student priests in the seminary in Cuba, and last year for the first time they joined in the great national drive to develop the countryside. For two weeks they camped with other youth brigades in the fields and cultivated from dawn until dusk. The young Cubans they worked with were delighted and the whole episode was much talked about—and favorably so, except by the priests. You can't help the Revolution in their eyes and be a Christian at the same time.

This latter factor is a sign of hope for the Church in Cuba. The younger generation of Christians has grown up with the revolution and cannot help but be influenced by it. They themselves are in many ways beneficiaries. And since the whole atmosphere of the country is tuned to social involvement, equality, liberation of poor people, eradication of corruption and other notions which are seen to be real and true, the young and idealistic who are also looking for religious truth and commitment must feel drawn by the whole movement. In fact, one of the main reasons why the Government has been so tolerant of the highly critical clergy is alleged to be that it wants to leave the way open for future dialogue and understanding.

Although there is almost no contact between the national Church and the Cuban Government at the moment, the Vatican maintains diplomatic links with Havana. And the Apostolic Delegate makes no secret of his position. He is invited to government functions, attends receptions in the Revolutionary Palace, with his Roman-collar and purple bit. He is known and respected in government circles. He feels that the socialist revolution that Cuba is undergoing is necessary and good, and he feels the Latin American Church must play its part in the struggle for social justice, if the continent is to move out of terrible poverty and oppression without untold violence and bloodshed.

We might add an interesting postscript to this brief sketch of the Church in Cuba. The Cuban revolution has many heros—martyrs of the liberation struggle of all oppressed peoples, whether of Vietnam or Bolivia, Cuba or Colombia. One of the most beloved figures among Cuban revolutionaries is Camilo Torres, the Catholic priest who went into the mountains of Colombia to join the guerrilla movement and was killed in the struggle.

A few weeks ago, Castro opened a new and ultra-modern clinic in an impoverished rural valley. He named it after Camilo Torres. The parents of the dead priest were at the ceremony, and the papers next day carried pictures of mother and father weeping as they embraced each other when Fidel acknowledged them and ranked their son with Che Guevara, the most beloved hero of Cuba. Castro talked of new movements in the Church, of the heroism of the revolutionary priests, of the popular resistance to imperialism and exploitation wherever it occurs.

So there are three Churches in Cuba. The Church of the Revolution, of Camilo Torres and Fidel Castro (the Church as they wish it was); the Church of the growing generation, more open and committed than the pre-revolutionary Church; and the structured Church, the Church that survived the Revolution without changing its beliefs or its practices, the Church of the priests and the Catholic Schools.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ACCORDING TO PASOLINI

LEONARD J. BERRY

Inside his head whirl primitive demon-spirits of madness, violence, alienation, death, at war with the saints of tenderness, love, generosity, beauty, peace—a sometimes steamy, sometimes arid dream-world where poverty, sex, and politics charge the atmosphere, where spirituality is pre-Christian, where the word *bourgeois* is synonymous with *desert,* where reality is blasted wide open then compressed into a shimmering mass of poetry: the amazing cinematic world of Pier Paolo Pasolini, who built a solid reputation for himself with his first six feature films and who has, with his seventh, *Teorema,* secured his position as one of the major forces in modern cinema.

"Some say the film is beautiful, some say no. Who knows?" asks Pasolini who, given less to hand-waving than most Italians, shrugs off praise. "It's so much of an enigma, even for me. One thing I want to make clear though: the young man is not Christ! He has something of the divine, but he's not Christ. Maybe he's an angel, maybe the devil, maybe God . . . but God the Father, not God the Son!"

The young man (played by Terence Stamp) is the extraordinary guest of an Italian family: a wealthy industrialist (Massimo Girotti), his lovely wife (Silvana Mangano), their lovely son (Andrés José Cruz) and lovely daughter (Anne Wiasemsky), and their maid (Laura Betti, who won the Venice Film Festival Best Actress Award in the role); they live among their possessions on an elegant estate. Into this atmosphere the young man injects his beauty, wit, intelligence, and grace. One-by-one the members of the household become enchanted by him but each can find only one way to relate to him—sexually.

They all go through a private torture, an inner debasement while seeking and having intercourse with the guest, who receives them with uncondescending gentleness and kindness, touching them as they have never been touched before. On his day of departure, the five people try to tell the young man how he has changed their lives. The conversations constitute the only important dialogue in the film, which is four-fifths mute. Then he is gone and their lives are shattered. The maid becomes a saint, the boy becomes a painter, the girl becomes catatonic, the wife turns nymphomanic and then religious, and the father gives his factory to his workers and wanders naked into a desert where his every footstep causes a puff of white smoke (volcanic dust, in fact, for it was shot in the Etna Volcano).

Pasolini, a lean soft-spoken poet of 46, explains: "You see, the young man has this divineness, this authenticity, which he takes into the material and unauthentic world of the family—causing an explosion of unknown sentiments in the people. When the authentic leaves, the people remain with the consciousness that *something* has changed. They no longer have the possibility of the divine because the divine is finished in bourgeois civilization. Except for the maid who goes to her own people and becomes a saint, in a mad way, but she is still a saint.

"The young man does everything with a certain amount of irony, but the kind of irony which is paternal. And he has this almost maternal tenderness. Stamp worked very well in the role, don't you think? He has beautiful eyes. But of course he wasn't perfect because . . . well, perhaps a person like the young man doesn't exist in the world."

First written and published as a novel, *Teorema* was entered in the Strega competition, Italy's top literary contest—only to be withdrawn by Pasolini "because the publishers were 'influencing' the judges. It was a personal protest," says the author, "though few people understood."

Teorema was filmed in five weeks and edited in nine, at a cost of about $500,000. Just days before shooting began Pasolini dictated the script, off the top of his head, to a tape recorder and had it translated into English for the benefit of Stamp who speaks no Italian. The picture was made entirely in English, which the other actors speak; thus, the version shown in America is the original!

Though it received the Best Film Award of the Inter-

CHESTNUT HILL COLLEGE

CONDUCTED BY THE SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH

Accredited Catholic college for women. Liberal Arts and Science.

WRITE:
REGISTRAR, CHESTNUT HILL COLLEGE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA 19118

LEONARD J. BERRY *is a former writer-reporter for the American Broadcasting system, presently living in Rome.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national Catholic Film Office at Venice—Pasolini, joining a protest against the Fascist code of the Festival, had tried unsuccessfully to withdraw it from competition—the film was seized by the Rome police on obscenity charges. After three months of legal entanglement, a Venice court declared *Teorema* to be a work of art and ordered it released.

"The sexual scandal was just a pretext," claims Pasolini. "The Vatican was protesting the ideas of the film, the condemnation of the absence of religious feelings in the bourgeois."

For Pasolini, as a major poet (seven books), novelist (four), and filmmaker, political engagement is a fact. "My position, in my life and in my work, is simple; I am a Marxist. You can see that." This posture, far left and revolutionary, renders him constantly liable to attack. "My ideal society is anarchic," he says. "You can't have ideas so violently against society like mine and expect to be left alone."

Books, even "successful" ones like Pasolini's, do not sell well in Italy. Before becoming a director, he taught school and scripted other peoples' movies to earn a living. Then, in 1961, "without knowing anything about films" he made *Accatone* (The Beggar), which was an instant critical and financial success; *Mama Roma, Comizi d'Amore* (The Bride), *Il Vangelo Secondo Mathew* (The Gospel According to St. Matthew), *Uccellaci e Uccellini* (Hawks And Sparrows), and *Edipo Re* (Oedipus Rex) Followed.

And he's presently at work on an eighth film called *Porcile,* or *Pig Pen. "Peeg Pen,"* he says, delighted by the English title. Half the film will be mute; the other half will be "a tragedy in verse." Though an April release is expected for the movie, Pasolini has already staged the verse segment in Turin, in a very uncinematic style: "no motion, just men and women speaking. This, to me, is theater."

Expressing Reality

He has also written five other plays, all in verse, and has edited literary journals and compiled anthologies. Despite all his activity he also manages to write a weekly column for *Tempo Illustrato* "on politics, literature, cinema, anything I like."

"Now I enjoy making films very much. But I don't know," he says when pushed as to preferences, "I prefer to write, really. Shooting films is a little bit like a drug for me. It's like being drunk on reality. I like it so much in an erotic, panicked, or . . . religious way. When I make a film I am in reality and I make reality; I express reality through reality. In cinema, if I want to express you I take the camera and I express you through yourself. But with writing, if I want to express you, I do it through words which are only symbols for the reality. Writing is not a drug; cinema is. Understand?

"You know, when I wrote *La Vita Violenta,* the most novel-like of my novels, I enjoyed it very much. But I find the novel less amusing now. Maybe films have substituted for novels."

Pasolini says he has been writing poetry since the tender age of seven; his first small book of verse was published when he was 20.

"Well, poetry is my true vocation. I hope I shall always be a poet."

FACE TO FACE

THE SCREEN

Two-character movies have to have plenty of action and suspense or very interesting dialogue to keep them going. "Hell in the Pacific," in which an American and a Japanese are stuck with each other on a deserted island during World War II, has some action, a little suspense, and practically no dialogue since neither of the combatants speaks the other's language. But the film, well produced by Reuben Bercovitch (who also wrote the original story) and directed by John Boorman, has a certain compelling quality as the audience watches two good actors portray the enemies and wonders how it will all come out.

The suspense starts immediately when the first castaway, the Japanese, (Toshiro Mifune) discovers the American Marine (Lee Marvin) and his rubber raft on the island. The two men stalk each other, ready to kill—until Mifune captures Marvin who's trying to steal Mifune's supply of fresh water. Marvin escapes, captures Mifune, ties him up—until he realizes the captor has to do all the cooking for the captive. From then on, the men, suspicious of each other but no longer concerned with capturing or killing, start getting used to one another. Speak to each other they can't, but they do communicate through sign language and drawings on the sandy beach, as when they argue over the raft they're building and at one point, Marvin, annoyed with Mifune, shouts out, "No, no, you're not listening."

Mifune's answers, in Japanese of course, are not translated by subtitles—which makes for an interesting effect; but at the same time we begin to wonder if Marvin's speeches, in slangy and amusing American English, are directed at us. We also wonder why on earth these two somewhat friendly fellows are building a raft and where they hope to sail to on the uncharted rough Pacific. It also seems odd (after the moving sequence in which Marvin suspiciously watches Mifune sharpen a knife and then suddenly comes to the realization that he is doing this for him so they can work *together*) that each of the men doesn't teach the other a few words of his language.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They finish the raft and start out. The film swings into action at this point as they survive a dead calm, a quarrel over a whistle and passing plane, and a terrific storm at sea. Finally they come to another deserted island, one once held by the Japanese and then by the Americans. Tension mounts as they search this island separately—which gives Marvin who sees Mifune some distance away another chance for a wisecrack: "For a minute I thought you were a Jap." But they are alone. They shave, find new clothes, get drunk on Sake, and separate in anger. Marvin hates Mifune because he insists that the Japanese don't believe in God. Mifune hates Marvin because he sees in an old copy of *Life* slaughtered Japanese on a battlefield. Although we never really identify with either of the actors, we are absorbed by their performances. Lee Marvin's occasional overacting contrasts effectively with Toshiro Mifune's generally calm portrayal. No doubt Mifune is meant to be the brighter of the two men and certainly the more sensitive, especially in the finale when Marvin accuses him of atheism. The two actors complement each other well, so the finale in which they part in anger and hatred is all the more disturbing and we wish again that they had stayed on the first island. Perhaps "Hell in the Pacific" (a dreadful title, by the way) is trying to say that two men of entirely different backgrounds could learn to live together and respect each other if they were not touched by civilization's false standards. Or perhaps the film is a fable about all men who will always find some reason, however small, for anger and mistrust. The film asks the questions but doesn't come up with answers. It is, however, provocative.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

BOOKS

Wisdom literature, with the earnestness of North Europe

Tragedy and Philosophy

WALTER KAUFMANN

Doubleday, $6.95

KENNETH REXROTH

Walter Kaufmann's new book on tragedy stands as a kind of indictment of the American intellectual community—or rather, lack of it. If it were published in France, West Germany, Scandinavia, or Italy it would be a sensation. Everybody would be talking about it and during the next school year it would be discussed in innumerable classes in philosophy and literature. The most qualified critics would review it in feature reviews in the weeklies, and articles taking issue with it, or taking off from it, would appear for the next couple of years in the quarterlies. It is not only a book of great importance on the fundamental problem of the aesthetics of literature, but it is vastly entertaining and well-informed. Walter Kaufmann's style has all the qualities of the very best talk, without ever lapsing into the amorphous *café terrassé* chatter so characteristic of Malraux, Caillois, Camus, or even Sartre. Good talk it is but with the earnestness of North Europe. I have never bothered to find out if Walter Kaufmann was born in Germany, but intellectually he certainly belongs to the second generation of the German diaspora, an intellectual circle in which Hannah Arendt, George Lichtheim and George Steiner are well-known figures. His connection with the first generation is made obvious by the blurb on the jacket of this book where Thomas Mann says of Kaufmann's *Nietzsche*, "A work of great superiority over everything previously achieved in Nietzsche criticism and interpretation."

Thomas Mann's generation wrote and talked endlessly about this subject, but the tragic human situation was never as real to them, even after it had come down on them with a mailed fist, as it is to a generation come to maturity in an atmosphere poisoned physically by carcinogens, radioactive and other, and morally by the extermination camps, the Moscow trials, Hiroshima, Dresden and Vietnam. Tragedy was literature to Mann, just as it was to Georg Brandes or Sainte-Beuve. To Kaufmann it is life, and has moved into a central position in the interpretation of life, its meaning and end. The pessimistic philosophies of Schopenhauer and von Hartmann cannot be called tragic because they lack tension, and so evade the issue sentimentally. But Kaufmann's philosophy is not that of the darker existentialists either. In this book he has some very telling comments on both Sartre and Scheler. I suppose Kaufmann could be called a post-existentialist. After all, however given to fancy literature they are all "systematic" philosophers. Behind them stand the vast, complicated, empty structures of Heidegger and Husserl. Walter Kaufmann is more like Marcus Aurelius in his relation to the now forgotten Stoic cosmologists.

Tragedy and Philosophy is life philosophy, a department at which it has been proper to sneer for a good many centuries. And although the book is carefully footnoted and has an eleven-page bibliography and two indices, it is literature rather than academic philosophy. Walter Kaufmann is professor of philosophy at Princeton, but he never reveals it except in the very funny remark, "Indeed, vast numbers of students read them [Sartre's plays] on their own." I once caused consternation in local circles by saying in a public lecture, "What happened to philosophy as the imparting of wisdom by wise men?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What student would dream of going to Carnap or Heidegger if his girl was pregnant or he had a dose of clap?" This does not apply to Walter Kaufmann. *Tragedy and Philosophy* is wisdom literature and gives one a certain confidence in Kaufmann's skill at pastoral care, *in loco parentis*, in serious emergencies, metaphysical or physical.

Within the limits of his taste, Kaufmann is certainly thorough. His chapters on Plato and Aristotle are illuminating throughout. Although many of his insights are original, he never, or seldom at least, falls into the old trap of etherealizing the simple, in fact vulgar, language of Aristotle's *Poetics*. The chapters on Homer, Sophocles, Aeschylus, Euripides and Shakespeare are full of lovely plums like "Tragedy is generally more optimistic than comedy. It is profound despair that leads most of the generation born during and after World War II to feel that tragedy is dated. . . . Neither in Athens nor in our time has tragedy perished of optimism: its sickness unto death was and is despair." That certainly takes care of Nietzsche and is wise in the bargain. Kaufmann has a sharp eye for rash statements based on lack of attention to the empirical evidence—careful reading of the great tragedies—and for sentimentalism. He makes short work for instance of Max Scheler, even though Scheler's emphasis on the essentially tragic nature of being is profoundly right, and sentimental only in application.

My principal objection to the book is its excessive German emphasis. Hegel, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Goethe, are all very well in their place, but I personally, had I written the book, would have gone further afield. Not only do I think that their insights into Aeschylus, Aristotle and Shakespeare all share a kind of Taine-ian soil and climate, but I simply do not believe that Gretchen in the cellar is "one of the most magnificent and heart-rending dramatic creations of all time." Like Rainer Rilke, I just can't bear Goethe. These are matters of personal taste and it's much more entertaining to read someone whose general principles you share but with whose taste you differ.

SHEED & WARD
In the vanguard of religious thought

Two important books by
CHARLES A. CURRAN

RELIGIOUS VALUES IN COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY

"In dealing with such concepts as communication, community and communion, Father Curran bridges the gap between counseling experiences on the one hand and religious values on the other . . . In dealing with such problems as alienation, guilt, anger, and the inability to love, yet the necessity to love, he is at once getting at the heart of many personal problems and at the root of many of our religious difficulties . . . Deserves a wide reading and serious study."
— CARROLL A. WISE, Garrett Graduate School of Theology. $7.50

COUNSELING AND PSYCHOTHERAPY
The Pursuit of Values

Published in 1968, this remarkable book by a leading priest-psychologist has received acclaim from both psychiatrists and theologians. Gardner Murphy of the Menninger Foundation calls it "truly wise and helpful." To Carroll A. Wise, it is "an excellent piece of work in reinterpreting the place of values and meaning in counseling." The nonprofessional reader will find it equally stimulating. $7.50

HERBERT A. HAAG

IS ORIGINAL SIN IN SCRIPTURE?

With an Introduction by BRUCE VAWTER, C.M. "Is the Bible even aware of Original Sin? Is Original Sin a Catholic 'dogma'? To these questions, Herbert Haag, Professor of Old Testament Studies at the University of Tübingen, gives a courageous, clear and convincing answer."
— HANS KUNG. $3.95

At your bookstore, or from
SHEED & WARD
64 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

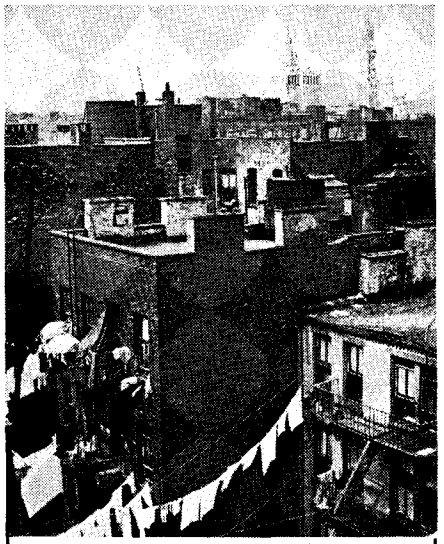


Photo by Ewing Galloway.

Many have moved...
but the **Paulists** *Stay On...*

The Paulists arrived on the West Side of New York City in 1858. In 1895 they moved into San Francisco's Chinatown and into the fringes of Chicago's Loop in 1904.

They're *still* there.

Times change. Neighborhoods change. Sometimes they go up. Sometimes they go down — but through it all the Paulist stays. As long as there are people to be served the Paulist will be there.

The Paulist may be in the same old place but he constantly does *new* things. That's one of the characteristics of the Paulist order: using their own individual talents in new ways to meet the needs of a fast-changing world in the colleges . . . in communications . . . in the ghettos.

If you have given some thought to becoming a Priest, write for an illustrated brochure and a copy of our recent Renewal Chapter Guidelines.

Write to:

Vocation Director
Paulist Fathers
Room 270CC
415 West 59th Street
New York, N.Y. 10019

However at the end of the book there are minor flaws. I approached the later pages with fear and trembling, because, with scarcely an exception, aestheticians when they come to apply their aesthetics, reveal the most abysmal taste—usually abysmally commonplace. I do not agree that Hochhuth's *The Deputy* is a great tragedy, let alone perhaps the only great Christian tragedy. I think Styron's *Nat Turner* is a vulgar piece of commercial writing not worth wasting my time or Kaufmann's intelligence. I certainly don't think that Sartre is a better playwright than Brecht. For all his insight into others, Kaufmann seems to have allowed his political prejudices to blind him to Brecht. Not only that, but he quotes with approval the extraordinarily vulgar American exponents of Brecht. Central to Bertolt Brecht was his own tragic philosophy. Ironic duplicity to him was practically an ontology. His remarks on the theater are snow jobs, like a jazz musician in the hands of a television M.C., and his plays are on principle two-edged or many-edged swords. And they are saturated with tragedy. Long ago when Weimar came to Pacific Palisades, Karl Korsch and I were arguing about Bert's duplicity in the patio of a famous writer now dead. Korsch turned to Brecht, who was smiling quietly by himself, and asked him in German something about duplicity as a principle. Brecht answered quietly in English, "Multiplicity." *Galileo* in its final form is not what Walter Kaufmann thinks it is. It is the decisive and tragic answer to the slanderous play by Günter Grass (which destroyed his reputation with the youth of Germany) about Brecht himself—in East Berlin where he was living in an anomalous relationship to the Communist bureaucracy, the same relationship, one would hope, as Grass' relationship to the C.I.A. in Dahlem. It is a great pity that in so wise a book Walter Kaufmann should have allowed himself to have wandered even for a moment into the universe of discourse of the Cold War and its front group "for the defense of cultural freedom." Lest he should think these strictures are politically motivated, I hasten to assure him that I loathe Walter Ulbricht as much as he and I think Hochhuth was far too gentle with the Pope. *Tragedy and Philosophy* is a wonderful book, the like of which seldom happens. Get it and read it.

The Beastly Beatitudes of Balthazar B

J. P. DONLEAVY

Delacorte Press, $6.95

JOHN DEEDY

The first reviews are in on Donleavy's new novel, and with few exceptions the appraisals are rave: Donleavy's best book since *The Ginger Man*. Which is saying a lot, since *The Ginger Man* is a first-rate novel. But it is also not to say all one would wish about *The Beastly Beatitudes of Balthazar B*. For this is not so much Donleavy's best book since *The Ginger Man*, as it is *The Ginger Man*—in its flashiest parts most especially.

And that's the rub. Donleavy is dangerously close to writing his old book all over again. Oh, the characters and the story are different, but oftentimes only accidentally so. Move from surface to substance and one encounters the familiarities of mode and technique that made *The Ginger Man* a triumph. The exotic chef has returned to the book of recipes, tried and true.

Donleavy, having grown up from Sebastian Dangerfield, settles here into the character of Balthazar B, a rich, ill-starred semi-innocent who moves from infancy to adulthood between France, England and Ireland. But Sebastian Dangerfield hasn't gone to his irrevocable reward; he is reincarnated as Beefy, and he appears whenever Donleavy seems to weary of serious writing and doesn't know quite what to do with Balthazar. Beefy is the author's god-out-of-a-laugh-machine; he's also his artistic nemesis.

Balthazar and Beefy meet in an English boarding school, and eventually are moved across to Dublin and paced through the extravagant experiences of the atypical Trinity student. Their association is wildly funny, generally gamy, and not without its human redemptions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the reader quickly realizes that he's been through much of this before. Suddenly it's like watching one Laurel and Hardy film too many. The situations become slightly predictable; the slapstick, terribly heavy.

Curiously, this does not seem to be what Donleavy intended. A mature Donleavy, far more sophisticated than the Donleavy of *The Ginger Man*, opens his book in Paris, and sets about some serious mood and character delineation. This is vintage Donleavy: serious and characteristically humorous; perceptive and feeling, and always within identifiable contexts, even when he is introducing 12-year-old Balthazar to the wonders of sex (and fatherhood) through his 24-year-old nannie. The situation is heavy with the components of farce, and one would expect Donleavy to pull all the stops. But he plays it straight—or reasonably straight—handling Balthazar as delicately and gracefully as a Mike Nichols directing a Dustin Hoffman. The result is a chapter as touching and witty as the early scenes of "The Graduate"—and as tasteful.

But Donleavy doesn't maintain his directions. At a given point his story gets away from him, and precisely when he brings Balthazar across the Irish Sea and enrolls him at Trinity. Whether it is Trinity or Dublin, or, as I suspect, a bit of each, the two have a wildly exhilarating effect on Donleavy; he reminds one, for all the world, of the old grad who never gets college or the college town out of his system and who makes an ass of himself at every reunion. Donleavy, a native New Yorker and Trinity alumnus, tends that way, compulsively so, when he takes pen to Trinity and Dublin. Like the antics of the old grad, his sport is hilarious the first time around, but with repetition it gets slightly sophomoric.

This is a hard thing to say about a writer so talented as J. P. Donleavy; it is said only because Donleavy, being talented, should be above stunting, just as he should be above warmed-over *Ginger Man*. In point of fact, he gives the reader more, much more, in the first hundred pages of *Beatitudes*, but then the serving goes stale, except for

Leading nominees for the 1969 NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS

On Wednesday, March 12th, the seven winners of the 1969 National Book Awards will be honored in a presentation ceremony at Philharmonic Hall, Lincoln Center, in New York. Meanwhile, these are among the books by American authors published in the United States in 1968 which the judges regard as among the most distinguished:

fiction

JOHN BARTH/Lost in the Funhouse/Doubleday & Company, Inc.
FREDERICK EXLEY/A Fan's Notes/Harper & Row, Publishers
JERZY KOSINSKI/Steps/Random House
JOYCE CAROL OATES/Expensive People/Vanguard Press, Inc.
THOMAS ROGERS/The Pursuit of Happiness/New American Library
Judges: Irving Howe, Jerre Mangione, Wright Morris

arts and letters

HANNAH ARENDT/Men in Dark Times/Harcourt, Brace & World
PETER GAY/Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider/ Harper & Row, Publishers
GORDON S. HAIGHT/George Eliot/Oxford University Press
GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB/Victorian Minds/Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
NORMAN MAILER/The Armies of the Night: History as a Novel, The Novel as History/New American Library
Judges: Renata Adler, Stanley Kauffmann, Alfred Kazin

children's literature

LLOYD ALEXANDER/The High King/Holt, Rinehart & Winston
PATRICIA CLAPP/Constance/Lothrop, Lee & Shepard
MEINDERT DEJONG/Journey from Peppermint Street/ Harper & Row, Publishers
ESTHER HAUTZIG/The Endless Steppe/Thomas Y. Crowell Co.
MILTON MELTZER/Langston Hughes/Thomas Y. Crowell Co.
Judges: John Ciardi, Virginia Haviland, Zena Sutherland

history and biography

NUEL PHARR DAVIS/Lawrence and Oppenheimer/ Simon and Schuster, Inc.
WINTHROP D. JORDAN/White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812/University of North Carolina Press
ALVIN M. JOSEPHY, JR./The Indian Heritage of America/ Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
NORMAN MAILER/Miami and the Siege of Chicago: An Informal History of the Republican and Democratic Conventions of 1968/ World Publishing Co.
DAVID M. POTTER/The South and the Sectional Conflict/ Louisiana State University Press
Judges: Robert Cromie, Martin Duberman, Allan Nevins

poetry

JOHN BERRYMAN/His Toy, His Dream, His Rest/Farrar, Straus & Giroux
GWENDOLYN BROOKS/In the Mecca/Harper & Row, Publishers
GALWAY KINNELL/Body Rags/Houghton Mifflin Co.
JOHN THOMPSON/The Talking Girl/Pym-Randall Press
KEITH WALDROP/A Windmill Near Calvary/University of Michigan Press
Judges: William Alfred, John Frederick Nims, Richard Wilbur

the sciences

RENE DUBOS/So Human an Animal/Charles Scribner's Sons
R. J. LIFTON/Death in Life: Survivors of Hiroshima/Random House
FRANK E. MANUEL/A Portrait of Isaac Newton/The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press
KARL MENNINGER, M.D./The Crime of Punishment/Viking Press
JAMES D. WATSON/The Double Helix/Atheneum
Judges: J. Bronowski, Theodosius Dobzhansky, Walter Sullivan

translation

JOSEPH HITREC/The Pasha's Concubine: and Other Tales — Ivo Andric/Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
ROLFE HUMPHRIES/The Way Things Are — Lucretius/ Indiana University Press
ELLEN CONROY KENNEDY/Lyrical and Critical Essays — Camus/Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
BURTON WATSON/The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu/ Columbia University Press
WILLIAM WEAVER/Cosmicomics — Italo Calvino/ Harcourt, Brace & World
Judges: Howard Hong, Vincent McHugh, Richard Winston

The National Book Awards are administered by the National Book Committee, and consist of seven $1,000 prizes donated by the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association, the Association of American University Presses, the Book Manufacturers Institute, the Children's Book Council, and the National Translation Center.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the later time when Donleavy is busy with the romance of Balthazar and classmate Elizabeth Fitzdare. Again Donleavy puts aside highjinks and settles down to some sober story-telling. But soon he is bored and impatient, so Fitzdare is thrown from a horse, dies and is buried. Balthazar and the reader are back in the hands of the impulsive stunt man.

Trinity by this time has had its fill of Balthazar and Beefy, and vice versa, so Donleavy marries them off—Beefy to a "rich" girl who turns out, of course, to have not a sausage to her name; Balthazar to a promising but disappointing miss with four Christian names, a double-barreled last name, and a frigidity which cracks in a chapter that reads like a script for the Three Stooges. The consummation scene shatters the tale completely—and irreparably. The reader is left holding a book that is neither good farce nor good fiction, but the burlesque of an extraordinarily clever writer. And that is sadder than the sad lot of Balthazar B.

Delbarton School

Morristown, New Jersey. An hour's drive from the George Washington Bridge or Holland Tunnel. A country day and boarding school for boys conducted by Benedictine Monks. Six forms, comprising the 7th and 8th grades and four years of college preparatory courses. Small classes. Thorough guidance department. Complete athletic program. Write for prospectus to the Headmaster.

PHILOSOPHY POSITION WANTED

Commonweal editor seeks part-time philosophy post; NYC or environs; M.A., Ph.L.; phil. of religion; metaphysics; phenomenology; soc. ethics. Write: P. Nobile, Commonweal.

The Kennedy Conspiracy

PARIS FLAMMONDE

Meredith Press, $6.95

SYLVIA MEAGHER

Paris Flammonde subtitles his book "an uncommissioned report on the Jim Garrison investigation." Uncommissioned it may be; unfavorable, it is not. If Garrison *had* commissioned a report on his "investigation," it might have turned out a pinch more rhapsodic than *The Kennedy Conspiracy;* but the only essential difference would probably be found in the motivation of the writer. The uncommissioned book glows with Flammonde's sincere enthusiasm and faith in Garrison and his "case." Undoubtedly his intention *was* to produce an unweighted presentation; but he failed, and produced one that is totally uncritical. By accepting "facts" that are not facts at all, by equating unsupported or insupportable allegations with demonstrable truth, and by overlooking at times parts of the record which are destructive to his theses, Flammonde has built a structure that leans so precariously toward Garrison and rests on so insubstantial a foundation as to doom it to collapse.

Take, for example, Garrison's absurd remark in his *Playboy* interview of October 1967 that deLesseps Morrison, then mayor of New Orleans, had introduced Clay Shaw to President Kennedy on an airplane flight in 1963. Obviously President Kennedy was not to be encountered on commercial aircraft during his presidency; nor would a New Orleans businessman, unacquainted with the President, have been a passenger on Air Force One. As Edward Jay Epstein said in his article on Garrison in *The New Yorker* (July 13, 1968), the statement is a demonstrable falsehood. Flammonde takes issue with Epstein's critique of Garrison, presumably having read it; but his predisposition toward Garrison is such that he faithfully repeats in his book that "Morrison had previously introduced Clay Shaw to President Kennedy on an airplane flight in 1963," seemingly unaware that it *is* a demonstrable falsehood and that, as I have been told, Garrison has disclaimed it entirely, although the transcript of his interview in *Playboy* is verbatim.

More serious is the attempt made in this uncommissioned report to inculpate the late David Ferrie in the assassination of President Kennedy and to demonstrate that the Secret Service (and therefore the federal government) had prior knowledge of Ferrie's involvement. Basing himself on Harold Weisberg's published works, Flammonde points out that the Secret Service asked Marina Oswald on November 24, 1963, if she knew "a Mr. David Farry." (Here he is not faithful to his acknowledged source, which states correctly that the question referred to "a Mr. Farry.") Flammonde argues that the Secret Service question in fact concerned Captain David Ferrie, and that the question was put one day before Ferrie first came to the attention of the Secret Service by reason of his arrest in New Orleans.

The anachronism would be curious, were it real. Flammonde has overlooked one simple fact that removes the incident from the realm of the unexplained and ominous: that a Secret Service report of December 13, 1963 on file in the National Archives states that the Secret Service received a call on November 24, 1963 from an informant who alleged that Ferrie was connected with Oswald and was implicated in the assassination (Richard Popkin, *New York Review of Books,* September 14, 1967).

The Kennedy Conspiracy unhappily abounds in such examples of incomplete scholarship, as it also seeks to elevate and dignify mere speculation ("it was rumored that he had piloted Oswald . . . the district attorney's office is supposed to have autopsy photographs . . . the assertion has been made . . . it is more than likely that Ferrie could have . . ." etc.) into an inexorable series of proofs incriminating this or that so-called conspirator accused by Garrison in progressive extravagance (which led a cynical observer to chant, Hey, Hey, Jolly D.A.; how many assassins did you catch today?). All too often, Flammonde tells us that "Garrison has evidence"—evidence which he does not specify, sug-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gest or vouch for personally. But we have heard from the horse's mouth of that so-called evidence—we have even heard Garrison announce in February 1967 that he had "solved the case" of assassination—without assuming any obligation to take these boasts as proven. To do so would be the quintessence of folly, given the kind of "evidence" that Garrison *has* detailed on occasion. His claim that he had decoded a "cryptogram" of Ruby's unlisted phone number in the Oswald and the Clay Shaw address-books (as "PO 19106") disintegrated in the first impact of critical scrutiny and has been characterized, quite justly, as nothing but a variation on the old shell game.

Nevertheless, Mr. Flammonde has devoted four pages of his book to the episode of the so-called code, including a step-by-step guide to the conversion of "PO 19106" into "Wh 1-5601." Nowhere in those four pages is there a mention of the contention [by critics of the Warren Report who are also critics of Garrison] that the entry in Oswald's book was "DD 19106" (the Cyrillic "D"), and that the entry was made while Oswald was in the Soviet Union. years before he could have known Ruby and possibly before Ruby had the Wh 1-5601 phone number. Also omitted are the passages from Garrison's press release on the decoding of "PO 19106" in which he reiterates that the system was rigid and undeviating, although he subsequently used completely different and arbitrary systems to decode the next two alleged cryptograms in Oswald's notebook—the phone numbers of the FBI and the CIA offices in New Orleans. Nor is the fact mentioned that the latter two numbers are published in the New Orleans directory in the first place. This is hardly the promised presentation of "all the criticism, positive and negative" nor is it "unweighted."

What is most lamentable about *The Kennedy Conspiracy*, part from its infatuation with the fatuous, is that like the Garrison divertissement itself it distracts attention from the genuine problem of what really happened in Dallas and rechannels energies that should properly be focused there into a dizzying maze of sordid irrelevancies.

The Warren Report was a cunning, sophisticated, ponderous vehicle for falsehood and fraud, whose pseudo-legal and pseudo-scientific retensions gained it a short-lived credibility. The Garrison "investigation" is a crude parody of the investigative and legal process—blatantly unprofessional, incoherent, blundering and blustering. An unmesmerized eye easily recognizes that it is an externalization of megalomania, demagoguery and frail attachment to reality. But the fact that the Garrison af-

BIAFRA
HAS A MILLION
STARVING CHILDREN
* * *
CMMB SENT
$60,000.00
IN MEDICINE AND
NUTRITIONAL SUPPLEMENTS
IN JANUARY ON THE S.S.FORRA TO
HELP THEM. THANKS TO OUR FRIENDS.
WILL YOU HELP US TO CONTINUE
TO HELP THE BIAFRANS?

CATHOLIC MEDICAL MISSION BOARD
10 West 17 Street • New York, N. Y. 10011 • Dept. W-13
Dear Father Walter:
☐ Enclosed is my Gift. Please multiply it 25 times for the sick and needy.
☐ Please send a free leaflet describing your work.
NAME.....
ADDRESS.....
CITY.....STATE.....ZIP NO.....

REVIEWERS

KENNETH REXROTH's most recent book is *An Autobiographical Novel* (Doubleday).

JOHN DEEDY is Managing Editor of *Commonweal*.

SYLVIA MEAGHER is the author of the *Subject Index to the Warren Report and the Hearings and Exhibits* (Scarecrow Press) and *Accessories After the Fact* (Bobbs-Merrill).

JEREMY J. STONE is the author of *Containing the Arms Race* (M.I.T. Press).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fair is preposterous chicanery in no way invests the Warren Report with validity. Rather, the New Orleans "investigation," by its very absurd and cruel nature, only underlines the urgent need for a responsible, competent, and impartial new inquiry into the unsolved Dallas crimes of November 22-24, 1963.

Unless Peace Comes

EDIT. NIGEL CALDER

Viking, $5.95; $1.95 paper

JEREMY J. STONE

Unless Peace Comes is a readable collection of 15 short chapters on different aspects of the possible applications of science to warfare: computers, air warfare, nuclear explosives, chemical and biological warfare, robots, "geophysical" warfare, conventional warfare, guerrilla war, undersea warfare, etc.

Parts of it read like science fiction, as when Mr. Thring discusses "walking bombs" set in motion at one end of a continent marching inexorably across it to destroy the missile sites or cities of an opponent who had better cry uncle before they get there. Professor Gordon J. F. MacDonald discusses the wrecking of the environment: changing the climate, opening up holes in the ozone layer—above a society that would subsequently be fatally "sunburnt" by otherwise absorbed ultraviolet—melting the oceans, or starting earthquakes.

Other parts of it would have read like science fiction to most of us some years ago: the fears of LSD dropped in the reservoirs; the computers that seek to collate information on the location of virtually everyone and everything in a country like Vietnam.

And the rest of it would certainly have seemed science fiction to those watching the Cold War emerge. *Unless Peace Comes* calls to mind Vannevar Bush's 1949 classic extrapolation of the potential of science for warfare in *Modern Arms and Free Men*. Scientifically, and intellectually also, Bush's book was on a slightly higher plane. The greatest scientist-administrator of his day, Bush had enormous grasp not only of possibilities but of the trends and rates of change in the application of science to war. His work, the product of a single mind, was able to apply consistent standards to the prospects of innovation in quite different fields. And he was at pains as much to counterbalance exaggerated fears and expectations as he was to suggest novel possibilities.

But even his careful analysis that the intercontinental guided missile would not become a reality has been eroded by time: the accuracy of missiles now improved by a factor of more than two over his most optimistic calculations; the cost of atomic explosives perhaps smaller by a hundred; the feasibility of intercontinental missiles themselves now proven; and the political readiness to spend 10% of an even larger gross national product on peacetime defense established.

Undoubtedly, future warfare and future preparation for warfare will contain much that seems science fiction to us; equally clearly not all that is science fiction will happen. What one wants is some way of distinguishing—and this is very difficult indeed. As Bush noted, much depends on a competition between weapons; he thought bombers would be used to do most of what a missile could do. As the biological warfare people realize, much depends also upon emotional reactions to the kinds of damage weapons produce. As Admiral Rickover learned, in almost singlehandedly pushing strategic warfare under the oceans, much depends upon the resistance of vested interests. And as we learned in watching Admiral Rickover, much depends upon the determined individual.

Much depends also upon the temperature of the Cold War. No serious consideration will be given to perturbing the ozone layer over the Russians of the sixties. But if we felt seriously menaced by totally malevolent and determined thugs, it might. And much depends upon fashions, accidents of cost-effectiveness, political leadership and interlocking personalities.

This is all to say that there is room for arms control; this is simply manipulation of these factors in the interests of a safer world. It is not true for example, as one author suggested, that "once the assumption that war is an affair for humans has been shaken, the military incentives to develop robot weapons will become irresistible." A very complicated and subtle understanding of many details—technical, economic, political and sociological—is necessary to reach such conclusions.

We need an unclassified book that takes over where *Unless Peace Comes* leaves off. It ought to examine the context in which the weapons might, or might not, emerge, applying to them all a common approach. Since today no one man can survey even the technical aspects of weaponry, much would be demanded of the editor. And still more of the contributors.

SCHOOL AT KIRKRIDGE

ON APPALACHIAN TRAIL overlooking Poconos. Opening this fall. Grades 10-11, boarding 20 boys, 16 girls. Intercultural, venturesome, nondenominational but seriously Christian, related to Kirkridge retreat-and-study center founded 1942. 85 miles from Manhattan and Philadelphia. Write School at Kirkridge (SAKI), Bangor, Pa. 18013. Phone 215+581-7898.

Classified

• RATES: 40¢ a word, 12 words minimum. Centered lines: $2.40 a line. Discounts: 3 times 5%; 7 times, 10%; 13 times, 15%. Payable with order.

Study Tour

• TRAVEL STUDY TOUR, high school students. Six weeks, excellent cuisine, informal, family, French atmosphere, Catholic supervision. England-France, $840. France alone, $740. ECOLE INTERNATIONALE, 8 Waterway, Manhasset, N.Y. 11030

Appeal

• PRIEST BUILDING HOMES for poor in Communist-dominated Indian state needs financial help. FATHER JOSEPH NEDUMPURAM, P.O. Thodanel, via Puliyannur, Kattayan District, Kerala, India.

Positions Wanted

• PROFESSOR IN QUEST of new frontiers, specialist Asian religions, seeks post in forward-looking Theology Department. Box 221, Commonweal.

• BUSINESS ADMINISTRATOR, 25 years varied industrial experience, desires position with socially-concerned or charitable organization in eastern U.S. BOX 37, Commonweal.

Summer Opportunity

• Concerned and Frustrated? Consider: SUMMER IN WILLIMANTIC, 1969. Write: 220 Valley Street, Willimantic, Conn.

Ariel Films

16mm FILM PROGRAMMING SERVICE
Most foreign & American films available, with film notes & publicity material. Write for a free prospectus today, tell us your needs, we're here to help.
Bragin Communications/AF-B CWL
645 West End Ave/New York 10025

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But this approach would provide a book still more frightening to the audience that counts. We learned during the proliferation debate that the easily fanned (and fully justified) apprehensions of the public at large got lip service but little concern from many experienced diplomats. The earthquake weapons will get little also. But a careful study of the reasons why we may be led technically, by internal political mechanisms, and through arms race, to rip up a big investment in Polaris in favor of a much more expensive, destabilizing, and potentially destructive set of bases on the ocean floor, may.

It is a commonplace, but one that *Unless Peace Comes* effectively reinforces, that man's environment cannot survive both science and war.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 695)

overcome a paranoid response in the Catholic community of public criticism of Catholic policies. The Jewish religio-ethnic community must likewise learn to accept free dialogue about Jewish socio-economic-political functions.

JOHN M. LAWRENCE
Chairman, F.A.I.R.
Federated Americans against Israeli Racism

Sobering Facts

Washington, D.C.

To the Editors: May I suggest the change of one word in *News and Views* [Feb. 14]? John Deedy writes, "If the population increase continues at 2 percent a year, by the year 2000 there could be 7.5 billion people . . ." This should read, "*If* the population increase continues at 2 percent a year, by the year 2000 there *will* be 7.5 billion people . . ." Mr. Deedy says the prospect is a sobering one; indeed it is. Perhaps even more sobering is the fact that this is not going to happen. It won't happen because people are going to die. As one small example among many, India's requirements for grain, over and above what India now produces, will in just nine years equal the total grain production of the United States, They will require it, but they will not get it. The result is just as obvious as it is most unpleasant.

Mr. Deedy notes that pitifully little is being done about it. The truth is that almost nothing at all is being done about it. The small funds earmarked for the population problem are spent instead on programs of family planning. India has had eighteen years of government-sponsored family planning. During those eighteen years, India's population growth rate has trebled, and almost two hundred million people have been added to her population. JUSTIN BLACKWELDER

So Be It

Toronto

To the Editors: Re: Jim Forest's article on Tom Merton [Jan. 10].

Amen! Amen! Amen!

GREGORY ELBERT

YOU CAN STOP LOOKING

for an M.A. program in Religious Education

We have the one you need. The all new Aquinas Institute of Religious Studies, opening June 16, 1969, has just the right balance of theology, scripture studies, and religious education courses to meet the constantly changing needs of teachers of religion.

No prudent person would care to prophesy exactly what form religious education may take in the future; but anyone who has had even a remote connection with catechetics knows the need for teachers who are able to move flexibly from one role to another. And the Aquinas program IS flexible and will prepare you for whatever religious education "vineyard" develops for you.

Two programs of study are open to sisters, laymen, priests, brothers: one leads to an M.A. in Religious Education after five summers; the other to a Certificate of Religious Education after three summers. (We hope to operate the Institute on a year round basis, as well as summers, by the Fall of 1971).

New on campus residence facilities are available. For a catalog describing the program, write Director,

AQUINAS INSTITUTE OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

AQUINAS COLLEGE
GRAND RAPIDS, MICHIGAN 49506

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Paths to Renewal

Is silence really the way to show one's concern for the Church? It is not necessary to point out the widespread abuse of episcopal power, the arbitrariness of many superiors, the absence in most cases of any forum of complaint except the public press? . . . We too urge moderation, but we urge it first on superiors and bishops. If the Church is facing a crisis of authority, it is because authority has too often outreached itself. —COMMONWEAL, November 29, 1968

The Church has incorporated into its structures and daily life all kinds of features from the various cultures in which it has lived; characteristics of the monarchical and feudal past seem particularly hard to get rid of. Under the circumstances, there is absolutely no reason why the Church should not learn from the good things of democracy, including respect for due process, freedom to express personal beliefs, freedom to seek for truth without harassment, the right to full access to full information about the operations of the Church, the right to freedom of association and petition, the right to effective redress, and the like. —December 20, 1968

Until the Church's reputation for disinterest, wisdom and objectivity is somewhat restored, churchmen might well observe a becoming modesty in lecturing the secular world, might well strive to eliminate the note of ecclesiastical triumphalism that so often creeps into documents like papal Christmas messages. . . . Few would deny that the world today *is* in need of a message of hope—we certainly would not—but that message can come with good grace only from a penitent and humble Church, a Church deeply conscious of its own human limitations and its own sins of omission and commission.

—January 17, 1969

A trial subscription saves you 60% of the single-copy price—and, as a bonus, you may also have COMMONWEAL's 64-page issue on the Holy Spirit.

17 ISSUES FOR $2

For New Subscribers Only

3-7-69

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016
Please send the next 17 issues, and the special issue on the Holy Spirit to:

Name .....

Address .....

City .....State.....Zip Code.....

☐ I prefer the regular full-year subscription at $10.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED